

LOSS OF THE SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY AND THE CLITICIZATION IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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1. INTRODUCTION

(1) CLITIC NATURE OF THE SUBJ_{PPRN} AND THE OBJ_{PPRN} IN OE

a. SUBJECT POSITION(S) IN THE MATRIX OPERATOR-INITIAL VS. TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXTS

- i. operator-initial (*wh*-initial, neg-initial or *þa/þonne*-initial) context ---> (2)-(4)
 - Subj_{FN}: FOLLOWING THE FINITE VERB (V2)
 - Subj_{PPRN}: FOLLOWING THE FINITE VERB (V2)
- ii. topic-initial context ⇒ SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY ---> (5)
 - Subj_{FN}: FOLLOWING THE FINITE VERB (V2)
 - Subj_{PPRN}: PRECEDING THE FINITE VERB (V3) ☞ CLITIC

(Kemenade (1987: 110ff); also see Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002: 139f), Eythórsson (1996: 114ff), Fischer et al. (2000: 104ff), Fuss (2003: 206ff), Fuss & Trips (2002: 190f), Haeberli (1999a: 334ff, 2000: 110, 2001: 201f, 2002a: 89), Hulk & Kemenade (1995: 247, 1997: 185ff), Kemenade (1997: 332ff, 1998: 154ff), Kiparsky (1995: 145f), Koopman (1992: 46, 51f, 1996: 224, 1997: 77f), Kroch & Taylor (1997: 300ff), Kroch et al. (2000: 360ff), Pintzuk (1996: 379ff, 1999: 125ff, 171ff), Trips (2002: 233f))

b. OBJECT POSITIONS IDIOSYNCRATIC TO THE OBJ_{PPRN}

- i. immediate right of the complementizer in the subordinate clause ---> (6a)
 - ii. immediate left of the finite verb in the matrix topic-initial V2 clause ---> (6b)
 - iii. immediate right of the finite verb in the matrix operator-initial V2 clause ---> (6c)
- (Kemenade (1987: 110ff); also see Koopman (1992: 47, 51ff, 1997: 78ff))

b'. SUBORDINATE POST-SUBJECT/PRE-AUXILIARY OBJECT POSITION

[I]ntervention of a pronoun object or pronoun objects, direct and/or indirect, between [the subject and the (finite) auxiliary/lexical verb]... is regular. (Mitchell (1985: §3907))	---> (7)
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⇒ Wackernagel position (cf. Wackernagel (1892)) = IDIOSYNCRATIC TO THE OBJ_{PPRN}
 (Pintzuk (1999: 139f); cf. Pintzuk (2002: 293f), Roberts (1997: 405), Traugott (1972: 109))

(2) WH-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{FN}

[Hwi] wolde God swa lytles þinges him *forwyrnan*
 why would God such small things him deny
 ‘Why would God deny him such a small thing?’ (ÆCHom, I.14 / Kemenade (1987: 43))

b. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[Hwæt] sægest þu yrþlinc? [Hu] begæst þu weorc þin?
 what say you ploughman how do you work your
 ‘What do you say ploughman? How do you go about your work?’ (ÆColl, 22 / *ibid.*: 111)

(3) NEG-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{FN}

[Ne] *sende* se deofol ða fyr of heofenum, þeah þe hit ufan come
NEG sent the devil the fire from heaven though that it above came
'The devil did not send the fire from heaven, though it came from above.'

(ÆCHom, II.110 / Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 189))

b. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[Ne] *beo* þu na leas-breda oþþe swicol
NEG be you no liar or treacherous
'May you be neither a liar nor treacherous.'

(ÆLS, XII.129 / Kemenade (1987: 112))

(4) PA/PONNE-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{FN}

[þonne] *beoð* eowere eagan *geopenode*
then are your eyes opened
'... then your eyes will be opened.'

(ÆCHom, I.18 / Kemenade(1987: 42))

b. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[þa] *foron* hie mid þrim scipum ut
then sailed they with three ships out
'... then they sailed out with three ships.'

(Parker, 897 / *ibid.*: 112)

(5) TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT

a. SUBJ_{FN}

[On twam þingum] *hæfde* God þæs mannes sawle *gegodod*
in two things had God the man's soul endowed
'With two things, God had endowed man's soul.'

(ÆCHom, I.20 / *ibid.*: 42)

b. SUBJ_{PPRN}

[Æfter his gebede] he *ahof* þæt child up...
after his prayer he lifted the child up
'After his prayer, he lifted the child up...'

(ÆCHom, II.28 / *ibid.*: 110)

(6) a. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMP IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

þæt **him** his fiend *wæren* *æfterfylgende*
that him his enemies were following
'... that his enemies were chasing him.'

(Oros, 48.12 / Kemenade (1987: 113))

b. OBJ_{PPRN} LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

[Fela spella] **him** *sædon* þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande...
many stories him told the Permians both of their own country
'The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country...'

(Oros, 14.27 / *ibid.*: 114)

c. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE

i. [Ne] *geseah* **hine** nan man nates-hwon yrre
NEG saw him no man so little angry
'None ever saw him so little angry.'

(ÆLS, XXXI.306 / *ibid.*)

ii. [þa] *sticode* **him** mon þa eagan ut
then struck him someone the eyes out
'... then his eyes were gouged out.'

(Oros, 90.14 / *ibid.*)

(7) OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE WACKERNAGEL POSITION

þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan
so-that the Danes them NEG could the harvest refuse
'... so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest.'

(ChronA, 89.10 (896) / Pintzuk (1999: 140))

CLAIM: Obviation of the subject position asymmetry in the matrix topic-initial context caused the loss of the clitic nature of pronouns, hence the loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPm} in the subordinate context.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS
[I] language change as a reflex of the change in the process of parameter setting, that is, how children converge on a grammatical system
(cf. Andersen (1973), Lightfoot (1979, 1991, 1999), Hróarsdóttir (2003); also see Battye & Roberts (1995: 7ff), Fischer et al. (2000: 2ff), Lightfoot (1998: 4, 2002: 1ff), Pintzuk et al. (2000: 2ff), Roberts (2001: 82ff), Roberts & Roussou (2003: 11ff), Yang (2000a: 111ff, 2000b: 231ff, 2002: 367f))
[II] the locus of parametric variation as the formal features on functional heads
(Chomsky (1993: 3, 1995a: 6))

2. BASIC FACTS

2.1. SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY IN THE EME MIDLAND/SOUTHERN DIALECTS

(8) SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT IN EME

- a. STILL ATTESTED ---> (9) vs. (10)
(Fischer et al. (2000: 130); also see Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 193f), Kemenade (1987: 181ff, 196ff))
- b. PRODUCTIVE: survey by Kroch & Taylor (1997) / Kroch et al. (2000) ---> Tables 1 & 2
 - i. 7 texts from the mid-13th century South Midland dialect:
 - Trinity Homilies*
 - Lambeth Homilies*
 - Sawles Warde*
 - Hali Meiðhad*
 - St. Katherine*
 - Vices and Virtues*
 - Ancrene Riwe*
 - Ayenbite of Inwit*
 - 1 text from the mid-14th century Kentish dialect:
 - ii. Sentence-initial element:
 - NP complements
 - PP complements
 - Adj complements
 - adverb *þa/then*
 - adverb *now*
 - PP adjuncts
 - any other adverbs

(8') SYSTEMATIC V2 IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL CONTEXT IN EME ---> (11)

- (9) V2 WITH SUBJ_{FN} IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT
- a. [ʒewiss] hafð godd *forworpen* ðan ilche mann...
certainly has God rejected that same man
'... certainly, God has rejected that same man.' (V&V, 13.31 / Fischer et al. (2000: 130))
- b. [On þis gær] would þe king Stephne *tæcen* Rodbert...
in this year wanted the king Stephen seize Robert
'During this year, king Stephen wanted to seize Robert...'
(ChronE (Plummer), 1140.1 / *ibid.*)
- (10) V3 WITH SUBJ_{PPRN} IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT
- a. [alle ðese bedodes] ic habbe *ihealde* fram childhade
all these commandments I have held from childhood
'... all these commandments, I have kept from childhood.'
(V&V, 67.32 / Fischer et al. (2000: 130))
- b. [Ðas þing] we habbað be him *gewritene*
these things we have about him written
'These things, we have written about him.'
(ChronE (Plummer), 1086.139 / *ibid.*)
- (11) V2 WITH SUBJ_{PPRN} IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL CONTEXT
- a. WH-INITIAL CONTEXT
[Whi] fare ye thus, fader and moder both?
why behave you thus father and mother both
'Why do you behave like that, father and mother?' (TNoah, 415 / Kemenade (1987: 185))
- b. NEG-INITIAL CONTEXT
[neauer] qð he ear nu nes ich ful pinet
never said he before now NEG+was I foully tortured
'... he said: never before now was I foully tortured.'
(AW, 206.17 / *ibid.* 186)
- c. ÐA/ÐONNE-INITIAL CONTEXT
[Thenne] sayd they to the x men of armes
then said they to the ten men of arms
'Then they said to the ten men of arms.'
(Caxton, Paris&Vienne, 5.1 / Fischer et al. (2000: 83))

TABLE 1: V2/V3 IN THE SEVEN MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	50 (92.6%)	4 (7.4%)	4 (4.5%)	84 (95.5%)
PP complement	12 (75.0%)	4 (25.0%)	0 (0%)	11 (100%)
Adj complement	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)	7 (33.3%)	14 (66.7%)
<i>þa / then</i>	37 (94.9%)	2 (5.2%)	26 (72.2%)	10 (27.8%)
<i>now</i>	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	8 (26.7%)	22 (73.3%)
PP adjunct	56 (74.7%)	19 (25.3%)	2 (2.0%)	99 (98.0%)
any other adverb	79 (57.2%)	59 (42.8%)	1 (0.5%)	181 (99.5%)

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 311), Kroch et al. (2000: 370))

- (i) V2 with Subj_{FN}: 71.4% of the topic-initial Subj_{FN} instances
(ii) V3 with Subj_{PPRN}: 96.5% of the topic-initial Subj_{PPRN} instances
⇒ RETAINMENT OF SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY

TABLE 2: V2/V3 IN THE AYENBITE OF INWIT

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)
PP complement	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Adj complement	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
<i>pa / then</i>	4 (25.0%)	12 (75.0%)	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)
<i>now</i>	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	7 (50.0%)	7 (50.0%)
PP adjunct	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.4%)	1 (3.2%)	30 (96.8%)
any other adverb	19 (55.9%)	15 (44.1%)	5 (8.8%)	52 (91.2%)

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 312), Kroch et al. (2000: 370))

- (i) V2 with Subj_{FN}: 62.5% of the topic-initial Subj_{FN} instances
 - (ii) V3 with Subj_{PPRN}: 93.1% of the topic-initial Subj_{PPRN} instances
- ⇒ RETAINMENT OF SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY

2.2. SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY IN THE LME MIDLAND/SOUTHERN DIALECTS

(12) SUBJECT POSI

(13) SYSTEMATIC V2 IN CHAUCER'S WORKS

- a. V2 with Subj_{FN}: 50.0% of the topic-initial Subj_{FN} instances
 - b. V2 with Subj_{PPm}: 50.0% of the topic-initial Subj_{PPm} instances
- ⇒ OBVIATION OF SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY = SYSTEMATIC V2
- ☞ SIMILAR TO NORTHERN TEXTS

(cf. §5)

TABLE 4: TOPIC-INITIAL V2/V3 IN THE 15TH CENTURY MIDLAND/SOUTHERN TEXTS

	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
SOUTHERN DIALECTS				
ME Sermons (c.1450 (a.1425))	9 (21.4%)	33 (78.6%)	4 (6.6%)	57 (93.4%)
Gregory's Chronicle (c.1475)	14 (19.2%)	59 (80.8%)	0 (0%)	59 (100%)
TOTAL	23 (20.0%)	92 (80.0%)	4 (3.3%)	116 (96.7%)
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS				
Mirk (a.1500 (a.1415))	2 (6.7%)	28 (93.3%)	1 (3.6%)	27 (96.4%)
Malory (a.1470)	14 (14.6%)	82 (85.4%)	30 (12.9%)	203 (87.1%)
Siege of Jerusalem (c.1500)	12 (20.3%)	47 (79.7%)	4 (4.4%)	87 (95.6%)
TOTAL	28 (15.1%)	157 (84.9%)	35 (9.9%)	317 (90.1%)
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS				
Hilton (a.1450 (a.1396))	8 (25.8%)	23 (74.2%)	8 (17.8%)	37 (82.2%)
Vices (a.1450 (c.1400))	22 (59.5%)	15 (40.5%)	19 (27.9%)	49 (72.1%)
Julian (a.1450 (c.1400))	11 (30.6%)	25 (69.4%)	14 (21.2%)	52 (78.8%)
Edmund (c.1450 (c.1400))	1 (1.8%)	56 (98.2%)	0 (0%)	72 (100%)
Margery Kempe (a.1450)	6 (16.7%)	35 (83.3%)	16 (12.7%)	110 (87.3%)
Capgrave's Chronicle (a.1464)	13 (19.4%)	54 (80.6%)	31 (51.7%)	29 (48.3%)
Robert Reynes (1470-1500)	13 (48.1%)	14 (51.9%)	0 (0%)	31 (100%)
Caxton, Reynard (1481)	15 (65.2%)	8 (34.8%)	28 (36.8%)	48 (63.2%)
Fitjames (1495)	18 (48.6%)	19 (51.4%)	12 (27.9%)	31 (72.1%)
In Die Innocencium (1497)	7 (21.2%)	26 (78.8%)	2 (5.9%)	32 (94.1%)
TOTAL	114 (29.3%)	275 (70.7%)	130 (20.9%)	491 (79.1%)
GRAND TOTAL	165 (23.9%)	524 (76.1%)	169 (15.5%)	924 (84.5%)

(Haeberli (2002b: 256, 261))

- (i) V2 with Subj_{FN}: 23.9% of the topic-initial Subj_{FN} instances
 - (ii) V2 with Subj_{PPm}: 15.5% of the topic-initial Subj_{PPm} instances
- ⇒ OBVIATION OF SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY = SYSTEMATIC V3

EXCEPTIONAL TEXTS:	<i>Book of Vices and Virtues</i>	[East Midland dialect]
	<i>Caxton's History of the Reynard the Fox</i>	[East Midland dialect]

FIGURE 1: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE MATRIX SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY

EME (MIDLAND/KENTISH DIALECT)		⇒	LME (MIDLAND/SOUTHERN DIALECT)	
SUBJ _{FN}	SUBJ _{PPRN}		SUBJ _{FN}	SUBJ _{PPRN}
V2	V3		V3	V3

2.3. WACKERNAGEL OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE EME AND LME MIDLAND/SOUTHERN DIALECTS

(14) WACKERNAGEL OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE SUBORDINATE CONTEXT IN EME AND LME

- ☞ survey on the distribution of the Obj_{PPRN} in the subordinate context that includes an auxiliary
 ---> Tables 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9 / (15)-(18)
- a. i. 2nd edition of the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (PPCME2)
 (Kroch & Taylor (2000a))
- ii. *CorpusSearch* = Java script program for searching syntactically annotated corpus
 (Randall (2000))
- b. texts surveyed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000) for EME and by Haerberli
 (2002b) for LME ---> Appendix

WORD ORDER PATTERNS	
[A]	Aux-V context: (i) Subj-Obj _{PPRN} -Aux-V ⇒ WACKERNAGEL OBJ _{PPRN} (ii) Subj-Aux-Obj _{PPRN} -V (iii) Subj-Aux-V-Obj _{PPRN}
[B]	V-Aux context: (iv) Subj-Obj _{PPRN} -V-Aux (v) Subj-V-Obj _{PPRN} -Aux ☞ TYPOLOGICALLY RARE (Dryer (1992: 100)) (vi) Subj-V-Aux-Obj _{PPRN}

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE SEVEN MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHEAST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	45 (3)	24 (2)	6	8	0	83
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	15	14 (6)	9	5	0	43
TOTAL	60 (3)	38 (8)	15	13	0	126
SOUTHWEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	16	14 (2)	4	2	0	36
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	2	2 (1)	0	0	0	4
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	1	2	5	0	0	8
cmhali.m1 (c.1225)	3	2	8	0	0	13
cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)	4	4	8	0	0	16
cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)	20	14 (4)	36	1	0	71
TOTAL	46	38 (7)	61	3	0	148
GRAND TOTAL	106 (3)	76 (15)	76	16	0	274

Subj-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order = Wackernagel Obj_{PPRN}:

38.7% (106 out of the 274 subordinate Obj_{PPRN} instances) ⇒ PRODUCTIVE

(cf. Kroch & Taylor (2000b: 134))

(15) a. COMP-SUBJ_{FN}-OBJ_{PPRN}-AUX-V ORDER

3if eni mon **hit** muste *isean*...
 if any man it must issue
 ‘... if anyone must issue it...’

(CMLAMBX1, 27.315 / PPCME2)

b. COMP-SUBJ_{PPRN}-OBJ_{PPRN}-AUX-V ORDER

3if ðu **me** ðin uncuðe name wouldst *kyðen*
 if you me your unfamiliar name would reveal
 ‘... if you want to reveal me your unfamiliar name.’

(CMVICES1, 23.241 / *ibid.*)

TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{FN} IN THE SEVEN MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTH MIDLAND TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHEAST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	22 (2)	28 (7)	44	4	2	100
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	2	40 (5)	31	0	4	77
TOTAL	24 (2)	68 (12)	75	4	6	177
SOUTHWEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	4	23 (3)	57	4 (1)	0	88
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	0	16 (1)	5	0	0	21
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	0	1 (1)	5	0	0	6
cmhali.m1 (c.1225)	0	1	7	0	0	8
cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)	1	12	10	1	1	25
cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)	1	23 (5)	71	1	1	97
TOTAL	6	76 (10)	155	6 (1)	2	245
GRAND TOTAL	30 (2)	144 (22)	230	10 (1)	8	422

Subj-Obj_{FN}-Aux-V order: 7.1% (30 out of the 422 subordinate Obj_{FN} instances) ⇒ RARE

- (16) a. OBJ_{PPRN} CLUSTERING
þæt... & he hem hit would tyþian...
 that and he them it would teach
 ‘... that... and he wants to teach it to them...’ (CMPETERB, 43.43 / PPCME2)
- b. ORTHOGRAPHIC CONCATENATION OF THE SUBJ_{PPRN} AND THE OBJ_{PPRN}
ziff þut miht ohht finden
 if you+it could any-way find
 ‘... if you could find it anyway.’ (CMORM, I, 52.509 / *ibid.*)
- (17) a. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE COMP IN THE SUBORDAINATE CLAUSE
þæt him mon mote wið speken
 that him one must speak-against
 ‘... that one must speak against him.’ (CMLAMBX1, 45.587 / PPCME2)
- b. OBJ_{PPRN} LEFT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE
[þerwið] us wite ure louerd ihesu crist...
 therewith us blame our lord Jesus Christ
 ‘Therewith, our lord Jesus Christ blames us...’ (CMTRINIT, 75.1042 / *ibid.*)
- c. OBJ_{PPRN} RIGHT-ADJACENT TO THE FINITE V IN THE OPERATOR-INITIAL V2 CLAUSE
[Ne] mihte him naðer befelen
 NEG might him no-other happen-to
 ‘No other might happen to him.’ (CMVICES1, 43.486 / *ibid.*)

TABLE 7: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} AND OBJ_{FN} IN THE AYENBITE OF INWIT

		SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
cmayenbi.m2 (1340)	OBJ _{PPRN}	42	38 (3)	2	1	0	83
	OBJ _{FN}	1	11	79	0	0	91

Subj-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order = Wackernagel Obj_{PPRN}:

50.6% (42 out of the 83 subordinate Obj_{PPRN} instances) ⇒ PRODUCTIVE

(cf. Kroch & Taylor (2000b: 134))

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE LATE 14TH CENTURY MIDLAND/SOUTHERN TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHERN DIALECTS						
cmpolych.m3 (a.1387)	0	1	110	0	1	112
cmntest.m3 (c.1388)	0	0	16	0	0	16
cmpurvey.m3 (c.1388)	0	0	17	0	0	17
TOTAL	0	1	143	0	1	145
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmedvern.m3 (c.1390)	0	6	21	0	0	27
cmbrut.m3 (c.1400)	2	48 (7)	32	0	0	82
TOTAL	2	54 (7)	53	0	0	109
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmearlps.m2 (c.1350)	0	0	19	0	0	19
cmctpars.m3 (c.1390)	0	2 (1)	38	0	0	40
cmctmeli.m3 (c.1390)	0	1	55	0	0	56
cmboeth.m3 (c.1380)	0	0	12	0	0	12
cmastro.m3 (c.1391)	0	0	1	0	0	1
cmwycser.m3 (c.1400)	0	0	50	0	0	50
cmotest.m3 (a.1382)	0	0	9	0	0	9
cmcloud.m3 (a.1400)	0	0	27	0	0	27
cmmandev.m3 (c.1400)	0	0	62	0	0	62
TOTAL	0	3 (1)	273	0	0	276
GRAND TOTAL	2	58 (8)	469	0	1	530

Subj-Obj_{ppm}-Aux-V order = Wackernagel Obj_{ppm}:

0.4% (2 out of the 530 subordinate Obj_{ppm} instances) ⇒ ALMOST EXTINCT

TABLE 9: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE 15TH CENTURY MIDLAND/SOUTHERN TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
SOUTHERN DIALECTS						
cmroyal.m34 (c.1450 (a.1425))	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmgregor.m4 (c.1475)	0	0	16	0	0	16
TOTAL	0	0	20	0	0	20
EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmmirk.m34 (a.1500 (a.1415))	0	0	121	0	0	121
cmmalory.m4 (a.1470)	0	0	130	0	0	130
cmsiege.m4 (c.1500)	0	6	3	0	0	9
TOTAL	0	6	254	0	0	260
WEST MIDLAND DIALECTS						
cmhilton.m34 (a.1450 (a.1396))	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmvices4.m34 (a.1450 (c.1400))	0	0	18	0	0	18
cmjulnor.m34 (a.1450 (c.1400))	0	0	20	0	0	20
cmedmund.m4 (c.1450 (1438))	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmkempe.m4 (a.1450)	0	1	267	0	0	268
cmcapchr.m4 (a.1464)	0	0	56	0	0	56
cmreynes.m4 (1470-1500)	0	1 (1)	2	0	0	3
cmreynar.m4 (1481)	0	2	29	0	0	31
cmfitzja.m4 (1495)	0	0	4	0	0	4
cmminoce.m4 (1497)	0	0	3	0	0	3
TOTAL	0	4 (1)	407	0	0	411
GRAND TOTAL	0	10 (1)	681	0	0	691

Subj-Obj_{ppm}-Aux-V order = Wackernagel Obj_{ppm}:

0% (0 out of the 691 subordinate Obj_{ppm} instances) ⇒ EXTINCT

- (18) TWO EXCEPTIONAL INSTANCES OF THE WACKERNAGEL OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE 14TH CENTURY
- þat a kyng liggyn in a liter ham hade bisegede*
 that a king lying in a litter them had besieged
 ‘... that a king lying in a litter had besieged them.’ (CMBRUT3, 68.2055 / PPCME2)
 - þat þe kyng oure fadier, vs hath reproyed, shemed & dispised...*
 that the king our father us has reproved shamed and despised
 ‘... that the king, our father, has blamed, shamed and despised us...’
 (CMBRUT3, 3.40 / *ibid.*)

FIGURE 2: HISTORICAL CHANGE OF THE WACKERNAGEL OBJ_{PPRN}

EME (MIDLAND/KENTISH DIALECT)	⇒	LME (MIDLAND/SOUTHERN DIALECT)
WACKERNAGEL OBJ _{PPRN}		WACKERNAGEL OBJ _{PPRN}
productive		extinct

3. ANALYSES

3.1. DERIVING THE SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY

(19) BASIC TENET OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

a. DIFFERENT LANDING SITES FOR VERB MOVEMENT

Verb movement targets two different landing sites in the matrix clause: C in the operator-initial context and a (head-initial) functional head below C in the topic-initial context.

b. DIFFERENT STRUCTURAL POSITIONS FOR SUBJECTS

Different types of subjects reside in two different structural positions in a clause: the Subj_{PPm}, being a clitic, has to appear in a position structurally higher than the Subj_{FN}.

(e.g. Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002: 140), Fischer et al. (2000: 126), Fuss (2003: 210ff), Haerberli (1999a: 354, 2000: 115ff, 2001: 205, 2002a: 94), Hulk & Kemenade (1997: 192), Kemenade (1998: 159), Kroch & Taylor (1997: 305ff), Pintzuk (1996: 388, 1999: 156ff), Tanaka (2000: 484), Trips (2002: 246))

TABLE 10: PREVIOUS PROPOSALS ON SUBJECT POSITIONS IN EARLIER ENGLISH

	SUBJ _{PPRN} POSITION	SUBJ _{FN} POSITION
Kemenade (1987)	procliticization to the finite verb (in C ⁰)	Spec IP
Pintzuk (1996, 1999)	encliticization to the topic (in Spec IP)	Spec VP
Kroch & Taylor (1997) Trips (2002)	CP-IP boundary	Spec VP
Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002)	Agr1 ⁰	Spec Agr2P
Fuss (2003)	Spec TP	Spec vP
Fischer et al. (2000) Hulk & Kemenade (1997)	Spec FP	Spec TP
Haerberli (1999a, 2001) Tanaka (2000)	Spec AgrSP	Spec TP

- Subj_{PPm} as a head element in the cliticized position or in the head position
(i.e. the shaded rows in Table 10)
- Subj_{PPm} as a phrasal element in the specifier position of a functional head
(i.e. the unshaded rows in Table 10)

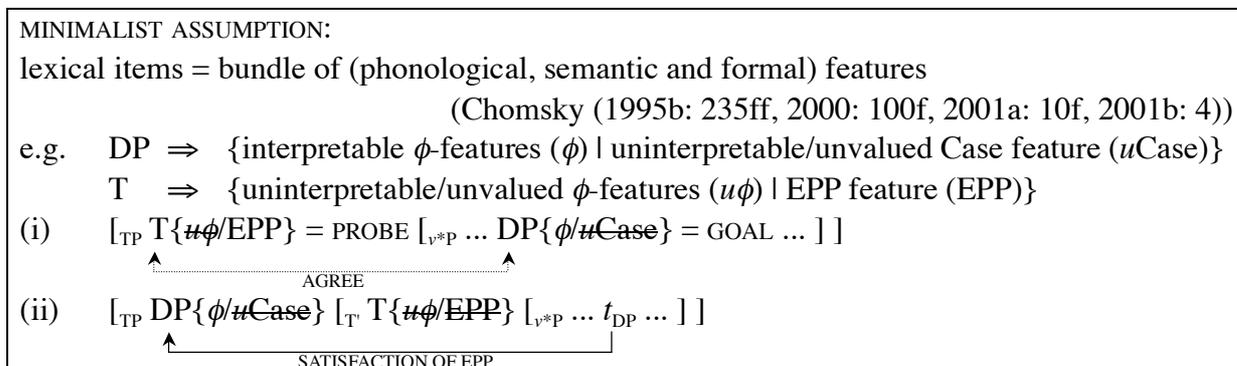
- (20) TWO (POTENTIAL) PROBLEMS IN ASSUMING THE SECOND OPTION
- a. conceptual problem: proliferation of functional heads
 - b. empirical problem: the clitic clustering fact unexplained (i.e. (16a))
(cf. the notion of multiple specifiers suggested by Chomsky (1995b: 245))
- ⇒ OE/EME CLITIC PRONOUNS ARE HEAD ELEMENTS.

- (21) NON-CLITIC/STRONG PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN OE/EME
- OE/EME personal pronouns are not exclusively clitics.
- a. V2 with Subj_{PPRN} in OE (Koopman (1997: 78, 1998: 137))
 - b. i. V2 with Subj_{PPRN} in EME (Tables 1 & 2)
 - ii. coordination of a personal pronoun and a full nominal ---> (22) (cf. Kayne (1975))
- ⇒ SOME OF THE OE/EME PERSONAL PRONOUNS ARE NON-CLITICS.
- (‘strong’ pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti (1994, 1999) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1996, 1999); cf. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002))

- (22) a. COORDINATION OF THE SUBJ_{PPRN}
- þet hy oþer oþre: byeþ *ichose* to dyngnetes of holi cherche...
that they or others are chosen as dignities of holy church
‘... that they or others are chosen as the dignity of holy church...’
(CMAYENBI, 42.706 / PPCME2)
- b. COORDINATION OF THE OBJ_{PPRN}
- ... al þe lecnun þe god hefde *ired hire & adam* of þen appel
all the lesson the god had read her and Adam of the apple
‘... all the lesson of the apple that the god had read to her and Adam.’
(CMANCRIW, II.54.521 / ibid.)

- (23) CATEGORIAL STATUS OF OE/EME CLITIC PRONOUNS
- a. Pronouns are definite articles. (Postal (1966: 62ff))
⇒ INSTANTIATION OF THE FUNCTIONAL HEAD D
(pace Osawa (1998: 6ff, 2000: 56ff, 2003: 14ff))
 - b. The clitic pronoun is a maximal zero level D projection that does not project any further.
= D^{0max} ⇔ MINIMAL AND MAXIMAL SIMULTANEOUSLY
(Chomsky (1995b: 249), Raposo (1998: 78); cf. Makita (2000: 45 footnote 12))

(24) FEATURE CONTENT OF OE/EME CLITIC PRONOUNS



clitic pronouns (= D^{0max}) ⇒ { ϕ | $uCase$ | uninterpretable/unvalued clitic feature (uCl)}

(35) NEG-AUX-V ORDER ⇐ FAILURE OF AUX/V-TO-T MOVEMENT

ðat tu ðe seluen naht ne miht helpen...

that you yourself not NEG could help

‘... that you could not help yourself...’

(CMVICES1, 65.708 / PPCME2)

⇒ PREDICTION: The Wackernagel Obj_{PPRN} is attested more frequently in the subordinate clause with a Subj_{PPRN} than in the one with a Subj_{FN}.

↓
BORN OUT ---> Table 11

TABLE 11: SUBJ_{PPRN} VS. SUBJ_{FN} IN THE SUBJ-OBJ_{PPRN}-AUX-V ORDER

	SUBJ _{PPRN}	SUBJ _{FN}	TOTAL
MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTHEAST MIDLAND TEXTS			
cmvices1.m1 (c.1200)	24	21	45
cmtrinit.mx1 (a.1225)	13	2	15
MID-13TH CENTURY SOUTHWEST MIDLAND TEXTS			
cmlambx1.mx1 (a.1225)	12	4	16
cmlamb1.m1 (a.1225)	1	1	2
cmsawles.m1 (c.1225)	1	0	1
cmhali.m1 (c.1225)	2	1	3
cmkathe.m1 (c.1225)	4	0	4
cmancriw.m1 (c.1230)	19	1	20
14TH CENTURY KENTISH TEXT			
cmayenbi.m2 (1340)	25	17	42
GRAND TOTAL	101	47	148

(i) Subj_{FN}-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order: 32.8% of the Subj-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V instances (in Tables 6 & 8)

(ii) Subj_{PPRN}-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order: 68.2% of the Subj-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V instances (in Tables 6 & 8)

(34) f. AUX-TO-T MOVEMENT

[_{CP} *þæt*-C{*uφ*} [_{FinP} *t*_{Fin} [_{TP} **Subj**_{FN} [_T **Aux**-T+**Obj**_{PPRN} [_{AuxP} *t*_{Aux} [_{v*P} *t*_{Obj} [_{v*_i} *t*_{Subj} [_{v*_i} *v** [_{VP} *t*_{Obj} **V** ...]]]]]]]]]

↑
FINITE VERB MOVEMENT

⇒ COMP-SUBJ_{FN}-AUX-OBJ_{PPRN}-V ORDER ---> (36)

[I]n the compound and periphrastic tenses the [pronominal] object... was generally found between the inflected auxiliary verb and the participle or infinitive. (Mossé (1952: §180))

(36) COMP-SUBJ_{FN}-AUX-OBJ_{PPRN}-V ORDER

þet god ne heþ hit him y-yeve...

that god NEG has it him given

‘... that God has not given it to him...’

(CMAYENBI, 18.273 / PPCME2)

(34') e. MEGER OF REALIZED FIN/C AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN C AND SUBJ_{FN}/OBJ_{PPRN}

[_{CP} C{*uφ*} [_{FinP} *þæt* [_{TP} Subj_{FN}{*φ/uCase*} [_T T [_{AuxP} Aux [_{v*P} Obj_{PPRN}{*φ/uCase/uCl*} ... V ...]]]]]]]

↑
AGREE

e'. OBJ_{PPRN} ENCLITICIZATION TO C

[_{CP} C+Obj_{PPRN}{*φ/uCase/uCl*} [_{FinP} *þæt* [_{TP} Subj_{FN} [_T T [_{AuxP} Aux [_{v*P} *t*_{Obj} [_{v*_i} *t*_{Subj} [_{v*_i} *v** [_{VP} *t*_{Obj} **V** ...]]]]]]]]]

↑
ENCLITICIZATION

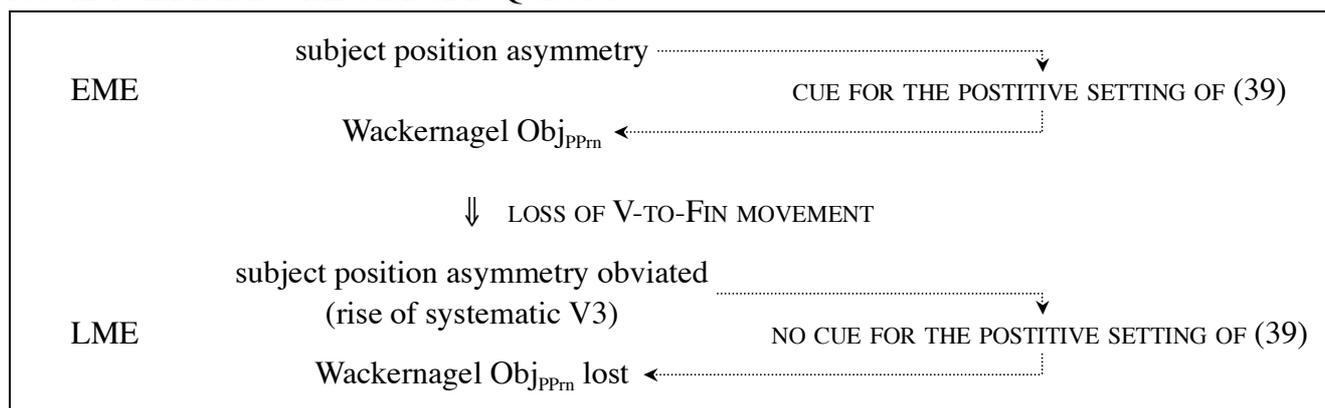
f. FIN-TO-C MOVEMENT

[_{CP} *þæt*-C+**Obj**_{PPRN} [_{FinP} *t*_{Fin} [_{TP} **Subj**_{FN} [_T T [_{AuxP} **Aux** [_{v*P} *t*_{Obj} [_{v*_i} *t*_{Subj} [_{v*_i} *v** [_{VP} *t*_{Obj} **V** ...]]]]]]]]]

↑
COMPLEMENTIZER MOVEMENT

⇒ COMP- OBJ_{PPRN}-SUBJ_{FN}-AUX-V ORDER ---> (17a)

FIGURE 3: EXPLAINING THE CHANGE IN QUESTION



5. NORTHERN DIALECTS OF LME

- (41) SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY IN THE TOPIC-INITIAL CONTEXT IN LME NORTHERN DIALECTS
 ALMOST EXTINCT: survey by Kroch & Taylor (1997) / Kroch et al. (2000) ---> Table 12
 ⇒ *Northern Prose Rule of St. Benet*
 survey by Haeberli (2002b) ---> Table 13
 ⇒ *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*
Mirror of St. Edmund (Thornton ms.)

TABLE 12: V2/V3 IN THE *NORTHERN PROSE RULE OF ST. BENET*

SENTENCE-INITIAL ELEMENT	SUBJ _{FN}		SUBJ _{PPRN}	
	V2	V3	V2	V3
NP complement	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	58 (95.1%)	3 (4.8%)
PP complement	18 (100%)	0 (0%)	10 (100%)	0 (0%)
Adj complement	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)
<i>þa / then</i>	15 (100%)	0 (0%)	28 (96.6%)	1 (3.4%)
<i>now</i>	no data		2 (100%)	0 (0%)
PP adjunct	42 (89.4%)	5 (10.6%)	73 (91.3%)	7 (8.7%)
any other adverb	25 (96.2%)	1 (3.8%)	51 (91.1%)	5 (8.9%)

(Kroch & Taylor (1997: 313), Kroch et al. (2000: 372))

- (i) V2 with Subj_{FN}: 93.9% of the topic-initial Subj_{FN} instances
 (ii) V2 with Subj_{PPRN}: 92.0% of the topic-initial Subj_{PPRN} instances
 ⇒ OBVIATION OF SUBJECT POSITION ASYMMETRY = SYSTEMATIC V2

- (42) a. SUBJ_{FN}
 [Allekin mekeness] sal man muster til þe gestis
 all-manner-of meekness shall man muster to the guests
 ‘All manner of humbleness shall be shown to the guests.’
 (Benet 35.11 / Fischer et al. (2000: 131))
- b. SUBJ_{PPRN}
 [In þa dais] sal we here sumping of godes seruise
 in the days shall we hear something of God’s service
 ‘In those days, we will hear something about the service of God.’ (Benet 33.35 / *ibid.*)

TABLE 14: DISTRIBUTION OF OBJ_{PPRN} IN THE 15TH CENTURY NORTHERN TEXTS

	SOAV	SAOV	SAVO	SOVA	SVAO	TOTAL
cmbenrul.m3 (a.1425)	0	3	36	0	0	39
cmrolltr.m24 (c.1450 (a.1349))	0	0	50	0	0	50
cmedthor (c.1440)	0	3 (1)	27	0	0	30
TOTAL	0	6 (1)	113	0	0	119

Subj-Obj_{PPRN}-Aux-V order = Wackernagel Obj_{PPRN}:

0% (0 out of the 691 subordinate Obj_{PPRN} instances) ⇒ EXTINCT

↳ (39) CEASED TO BE INVOKED FOR THE POSITIVE SETTING IN THE NORTHERN DIALECT OF LME.

loss of the Wackernagel Obj_{PPRN} ≠ emergence of *u*Cl-less third person plural forms

⇒ PRONOMINAL PARADIGM AND RISE OF SYSTEMATIC V2 IN CHAUCER'S WORKS ---> (13)&(45)

(45) THIRD PERSON PLURAL FORMS IN CHAUCER'S WORKS

NOMINATIVE	<i>they</i> (borrowed form)
ACCUSATIVE	<i>hem</i> (native form)
DATIVE	
GENITIVE	<i>hir/here</i> (native form)

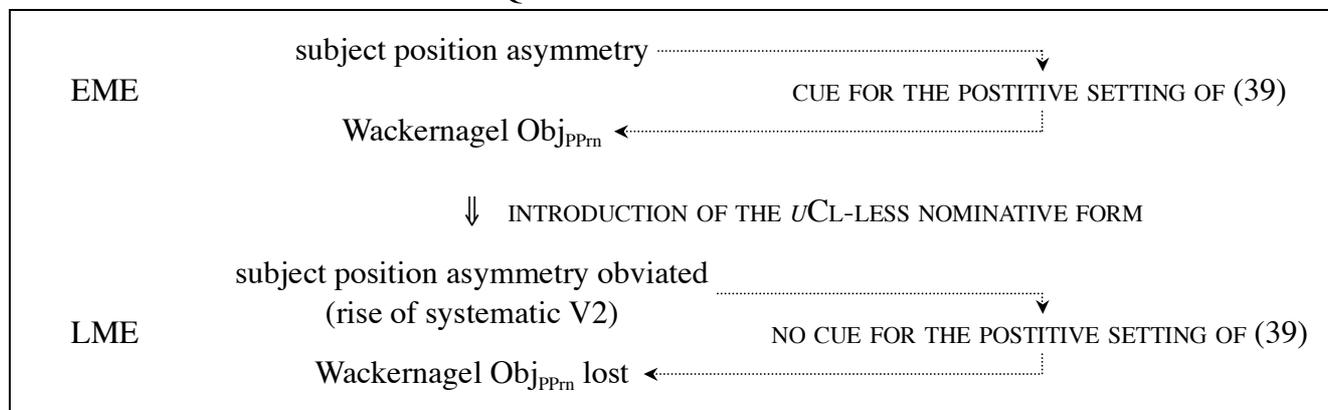
(Ukaji (2000: 172))

The third person plural nominative form lacks *u*Cl while the third person plural accusative/dative form retains this feature.

⇒ GENERALIZED TO OTHER NOMINATIVE FORMS

The pronominal paradigm of the earlier Northern dialect was similar to that of Chaucer's works.
(cf. Morse-Gagné (1988: 365))

FIGURE 5: EXPLAINING THE CHANGE IN QUESTION



6. CONCLUSION

APPENDIX: PPCME2 TEXTS SURVEYED

MX1 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1150-1250)

CMLAMBX1 Richard Morris (1868) *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises: Part I* (EETS OS 29 & 34), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMTRINIT Richard Morris (1873) *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century: Second Series* (EETS OS 53), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

M1 (1150-1250)

CMPETERB Cecily Clark (1970) *Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154* (2nd ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMORM Robert Holt (1878) *The Ormulum, with the Notes and Glossary of Dr. R. M. White: Vols. I & II*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMLAMB1 Richard Morris (1868) *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises: Part I* (EETS OS 29 & 34), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMVICES1 Ferdinand Holthausen (1888) *Vices and Virtues: Part 1* (EETS OS 89), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

CMHALI, CMKATHE & CMSAWLES S. R. T. O. D'Ardenne (1977) *The Katherine Group Edited from Ms. Bodley 34* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège Fasc. 215), Société d'EDition Les Belles Lettres, Paris.

CMANCRIW Robert W. Ackerman & Roger Dahood (1984) *Ancrene Riwe: Introduction and Part I* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 31), Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton NY.

M2 (1250-1350)

CMAYENBI Richard Morris (1979) *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt* (EETS OS 278), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

CMEARLPS Karl D. Bülbring (1891) *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter* (EETS OS 97), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

M24 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1420-1500)

CMROLLTR George G. Perry (1921) *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole* (EETS OS 20), Oxford University Press, Oxford.

M3 (1350-1420)

CMPOLYCH Joseph Lumby (1876, 1882) *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis: Vols. VI & VIII, English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century* (Rolls Series 41), [publisher unknown], London.

CMNTEST Josiah Forshall & Frederic Madden (1879) *The New Testament in English According to the Version of John Wycliffe about A.D. 1380 and Revised by John Purvey about A.D. 1388*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

CMOTEST & CMPURVEY Josiah Forshall & Frederic Madden (1850) *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers: Vol. 1*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

CMEDVERN C. Horstman (1895-1896) *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.

- CMASTRO, CMBOETH, CMCTMELI & CMCTPARS Larry D. Benson (1987) *The Riverside Chaucer* (3rd ed.), Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
- CMBRUT3 F. W. D. Brie (1906) *The Brut or the Chronicles of England: Part I* (EETS OS 131), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
- CMWYCSE Anne Hudson (1983) *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- CMCLOUD Phyllis Hodgson (1944) *The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling* (EETS OS 218), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMMANDEV Paul Hamelius (1919- 1923) *Mandeville's Travels, Translated from the French of Jean D'Outremeuse* (EETS OS 153 & 154), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
- CMBENRUL Ernst A. Kock (1902) *The Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet, Three Middle English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet and Two Contemporary Rituals for the Ordination of Nuns* (EETS OS 120), Ernst A. Kock (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
- M34 (comp. date 1350-1420; ms. date 1420-1500)
- CMEDTHOR George G. Perry (1869) *The Mirror of St. Edmund, Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (EETS OS 26), George G. Perry (ed.), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
- CMHILTON Fumio Kuriyagawa (1967) *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*, Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Tokyo.
- CMVICES4 Winthrop N. Francis (1942) *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens D'Orléans* (EETS OS 217), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMJULNOR Frances Beer (1978) *Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love: The Shorter Version Edited from B. L. Add. Ms. 37790* (Middle English Texts 8), Winter, Heidelberg.
- CMROYAL Woodburn O. Ross (1940) *Middle English Sermons, Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. xxiii* (EETS OS 209), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMMIRK Theodore Erbe (1905) *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies, by Johannes Mirkus: Part I* (EETS ES 96), K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.
- M4 (1420-1500)
- CMAELR4 John Ayto & Alexandra Barratt (1984) *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions* (EETS OS 287), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMEDMUND Norman F. Blake (1972) *The Life of St. Edmund, Middle English Religious Prose* (York Medieval Texts), Norman F. Blake (ed.), Arnold, London.
- CMKEMPE Sanford B. Meech & Hope E. Allen (1940) *The Book of Margery Kemp: Vol. 1* (EETS OS 212). Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMCAPCHR Peter J. Lucas (1983) *John Capgrave's Abbreviation of Cronicles* (EETS OS 285), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMMALORY Eugène Vinaver (1954) *The Works of Thomas Malory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMREYNES Cameron Louis (1980) *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner Ms. 407* (Garland Medieval Texts 1), Garland, New York.
- CMGREGOR James Gairdner (1876) *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society NS XVII), Camden Society, Westminster.

- CMREYNAR Norman F. Blake (1970) *Caxton's History of Reynard the Fox: Translated from the Dutch Original by William Caxton* (EETS OS 263), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- CMFITZJA Francis J. H. Jenkinson (1907) *Sermo die Lune in Ebdomada Pasche, by Richard Fitz-James: Printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about the Year 1495*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- CMINNOCE J. G. Nichols (1875) *Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop, at St. Paul's Temp. Henry VII, and at Gloucester Temp. Mary* (Camden Society NS XIV), [publisher unknown], London.
- CMSIEGE Auvo Kurvinen (1969) *The Siege of Jerusalem in Prose* (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 34), Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, Helsinki.

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